

## Message Text

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INFO HORN OF AFRICA COLLECTIVE

S E C R E T STATE 169194

EXDIS

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SO, US,

SUBJECT: MILITARY SURVEY TEAM DELAY

SUMMARY: SOMALI AMBASSADOR ADDOU CONVEYED MESSAGE FROM SIAD TO USG THAT HE ATTEMPTING BRING OGADEN INSURGENTS UNDER CONTROL BUT THIS DIFFICULT TO ACCOMPLISH SINCE IT CAN BE USED AGAINST HIM BY PRO-SOVIET DOMESTIC POLITICAL FOES. ADVISED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY THAT TIME NOT OPPORTUNE FOR TEAM VISIT GIVEN ESCALATION OF FIGHTING IN OGADEN AND ETHIOPIAN REPRISAL AIR STRIKES, ADDOU ARGUED FORCEFULLY AGAINST DELAY WHICH WOULD STRENGTHEN THOSE IN SOMALIA FAVORING ACCOMMODATION WITH SOVIETS. END SUMMARY

1. SOMALI AMBASSADOR ADDOU CALLED AT HIS REQUEST ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE JULY 3 TO CONVEY SUBSTANCE HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT SIAD DURING LATTER'S RECENT VISIT

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TO LONDON. ADDOU HAD URGED SIAD TO EXPEDITE RESPONSE TO US PROPOSAL FOR MILITARY SURVEY TEAM ARRIVAL JULY 10 AND ADDOU UNDERSTOOD SIAD HAD SENT TELEGRAM TO MOGADISCIO AUTHORIZING TEAM TO PROCEED.

2. WITH RESPECT TO OGADEN INSURGENCY, ADDOU HAD ADVISED SIAD OF WASHINGTON CONCERN OVER REPORTS OF INSURGENT

ACTIVITY. SIAD HAD CHARGED ADDOU TO CONVEY TO MOOSE THAT GSDR DOES NOT WANT TO DO ANYTHING TO SLOW DOWN PROCESS OF IMPROVING US-SOMALI RELATIONS. SIAD WANTED USG TO UNDERSTAND THAT SIAD IS DETERMINED TO HANDLE PROBLEM OF INSURGENTS BUT IT IS A SENSITIVE POLITICAL PROBLEM FOR HIM DOMESTICALLY. ALSO, FACT THAT INSURGENTS ARE DEEP INSIDE ETHIOPIA FURTHER COMPLICATES PROBLEM OF CONTROLLING THEM. SOVIETS ARE TAKING ADVANTAGE OF SITUATION OUTSIDE SOMALIA BY EXAGGERATING INCIDENTS AND INVITING CONFRONTATION BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA AND, INSIDE SOMALIA, BY HAVING PRO-SOVIET ELEMENTS SPREAD WORD THAT SIAD IS TURNING HIS BACK ON OGADENIS. SIAD RECOGNIZES THAT, WITH HIS TROOPS OUT OF OGADEN, INSURGENT ATTACKS ARE POINTLESS SINCE THEY IN NO POSITION TO HOLD ANY POSITIONS THEY MIGHT TEMPORARILY SECURE. ADDOU OBSERVED THAT IT TAKES GREAT COURAGE AS WELL AS TACT FOR SIAD TO BRING INSURGENT SITUATION UNDER CONTROL.

3. MOOSE OBSERVED THAT SITUATION IS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE AT THIS TIME SINCE INSURGENT ATTACKS HAVE INCREASED AND HAVE STIMULATED REPRISAL AIR STRIKES BY ETHIOPIANS. HE TOLD ADDOU FRANKLY THAT MOMENT IS NOT A GOOD ONE FOR US TO SEND A MILITARY SURVEY TEAM. AS ADDOU KNEW, US HAD UNDERTAKEN CONSIDERABLE PREPARATIONS TO SEND TEAM BUT, UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, WE HAD FELT COMPELLED TO HAVE OUR CHARGE IN MOGADISCIO INFORM GSDR FOREIGN OFFICE  
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THAT WE FELT WE MUST DELAY TEAM FOR AT LEAST A COUPLE OF WEEKS. US IS CONCERNED AT PATTERN DEVELOPING. US IS ALSO CONCERNED BY REPEATED GSDR PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF FULL SUPPORT FOR THE INSURGENTS, THE MOST RECENT BEING SIAD'S PUBLIC STATEMENT JULY 1. WE HAVE BEEN DEPENDING ON THE ASSURANCES GIVEN US WHICH IN FACE OF INCREASED VIOLENCE ARE SUBJECT TO QUESTION AND, UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE FEEL WE WILL HAVE TO WAIT AWHILE BEFORE SENDING THE TEAM.

4. ADDOU SAID HE HAD SPOKEN TO SIAD BY TELEPHONE THE DAY BEFORE. SIAD HAD LEFT NO DOUBT OF HIS RECOGNITION OF NEED TO GET INSURGENTS UNDER CONTROL BUT THAT THIS MIGHT HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER OAU MEETING. SIAD SAID US HAS ASKED SOMALIA TO DO ONE THING AFTER ANOTHER AND SOMALIA HAS DONE THEM ALL. SOMALIA IS UNDER CONSTANT PRESSURE FROM ETHIOPIA AND ITS COMMUNIST ALLIES. WHAT IS AT STAKE IS THE SURVIVAL OF THE SIAD REGIME. ADDOU NOTED A PARALLEL BETWEEN THE SITUATIONS IN ADEN AND SOMALIA. IN SOMALIA MOST FAVOR SIAD'S TURN TO THE WEST BUT THERE ARE STILL MANY WHO WANT TO SEEK AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE SOVIETS. IF US ADOPTS WAIT AND SEE ATTITUDE IT MAY BE TOO

LATE FOR SIAD WHO NEEDS NOW TO DEMONSTRATE THAT HIS SHIFT TO THE WEST WILL NOT COMPROMISE SOMALIA'S SECURITY. SOVIET DESIGN IS CLEAR: TO FRIGHTEN OR CONFUSE US SO IT

WILL NOT CONSOLIDATE ITS POSITION IN SOMALIA. IF US HOLDS BACK, PARTICULARLY AT TIME WHEN BOMBING OF BELET UEN ONLY 200 MILES FROM MOGADISCIO HAS EMPHASIZED THREAT TO SOMALIA'S SECURITY, SIAD COULD BE OVERTHROWN OR HIS POLICY REVERSED BY THOSE IN CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHO FEEL ONLY POWER CAPABLE OF GUARANTEEING SOMALI SECURITY IS USSR. US HAS THE KEY TO WHETHER SOMALIA SUCCUMBS TO SOVIET PRESSURE.

5. ADDOU URGED US TO SEND SURVEY TEAM WITHOUT DELAY. HE  
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NOTED THAT TEAM'S DISPATCH DID NOT MEAN DELIVERY OF WEAPONS BUT WAS ONLY BEGINNING OF EXTREMELY LENGTHY PROCESS. BUT SIAD NEEDS NOW SIGN FROM US THAT SOMALIA IS NOT ALONE. ADDOU DISPUTED THOSE WHO ARGUE THAT SOMALIA CAN NEVER GO BACK TO THE SOVIETS. HE SAID THAT ALL IT WOULD TAKE WOULD BE TWO SPEECHES OUTLINING A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS WITH ETHIOPIA ALONG THE LINES OF THE SOCIALIST CONFEDERATION EARLIER PROPOSED BY THE SOVIETS. ADDOU CLAIMED US FAILURE PROCEED WITH SURVEY TEAM COULD CAUSE TURMOIL, POSSIBLY EVEN AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT AGAINST SIAD. IT WOULD IN ANY CASE BE EXTREMELY HARMFUL POLITICALLY AND PSYCHOLOGICALLY. IN ADDITION TO EFFECT ON STABILITY OF THE REGIME, SIAD NEEDS DEMONSTRATION OF US POLITICAL SUPPORT IN ORDER TO BE IN A POSITION TO BRING OGADENI INSURGENTS UNDER CONTROL.

6. MOOSE EXPRESSED US AWARENESS OF THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES SIAD FACES AND TOOK NOTE OF WHAT SIAD HAD TOLD ADDOU ABOUT BRINGING OGADEN SITUATION UNDER CONTROL. HE EXPLAINED, AS HE HAD DURING HIS MOGADISCIO VISIT IN MARCH, THAT US ABILITY TO HELP SOMALIA IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE ATTITUDES SOMALIA TAKES TOWARD ITS NEIGHBORS. WE ARE NOW AT A POINT WHERE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE HAS PROVOKED ETHIOPIANS, WHO HAVE EXERCISED SOME RESTRAINT IN THE PAST, TO RETALIATE. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR US WITH ESCALATION TAKING PLACE ON BOTH SIDES TO EXPLAIN TO CONGRESS, FOR INSTANCE, THAT WE WERE GOING AHEAD WITH SURVEY TEAM ON BASIS OF ASSURANCES THAT SOMALIA WOULD LIVE AT PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. MOOSE STATED THAT US IS NOT SAYING THAT SURVEY TEAM WILL NOT PROCEED BUT ONLY THAT IT CANNOT PROCEED RIGHT NOW WITH THE OGADEN AFLAME. THE VALUE OF THE ASSURANCES GIVEN US BY SOMALIA WOULD BE SEVERELY QUESTIONED. MOOSE STRESSED THAT US-ANXIOUS TO  
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IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA, BUT POINTED OUT THAT MUCH DEPENDS ON THE CLIMATE OF OPINION CREATED BY ACTIONS THERE.

7. ADDOU HOPED HE WOULD NOT BE PUT IN THE POSITION ON HIS RETURN TO MOGADISCIO JULY 12 OF HAVING TO REPORT THAT

SOMALIA CANNOT COUNT ON US, THAT US HAS SEIZED ON PRETEXT OF OGADEN VIOLENCE TO BACK AWAY FROM ITS COMMITMENT NOW THAT SOMALIA HAS SATISFIED ONE CONDITION AFTER ANOTHER LAID DOWN BY US. IN ORDER FOR HIM TO REASSURE SIAD THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE, HE WOULD NEED TO SPEAK WITH THE AUTHORITY OF AN INTERVIEW WITH THE SECRETARY. MOOSE ASSURED ADDOU THAT WE WERE NOT SEIZING ON A PRETEXT BUT THE FACT IS THAT THIS IS AN INOPPORTUNE MOMENT AND THEREFORE, VERY RELUCTANTLY, WE DO NOT FEEL THE TEAM SHOULD PROCEED. WE SINCERELY HOPE THAT THERE WILL BE RESTRAINT EXERCISED IN THE HORN SO THAT THE TEAM CAN GO FORWARD SHORTLY. HE COULD MAKE NO GUARANTEE ABOUT AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE SECRETARY GIVEN THE LATTER'S CROWDED SCHEDULE AND TRAVEL PLANS, BUT PROMISED THAT HE WOULD RECOMMEND ONE. VANCE

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